

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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O R 072000Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8223

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

JCS

USNMR SHAPE

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USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T ATHENS 2695

EXDIS

MILITARY ADDRESSEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, GR, US

SUBJECT: U.S. - GREEK BASE NEGOTIATIONS: COMMENTS ON OPENING OF  
SECOND ROUND

REFS: (A) ATHENS 2694

(B) STATE'S 75036

1. WE HAVE GAINED TWO IMMEDIATE IMPRESSIONS FROM THIS MORNING'S  
OPENING SESSION IN THE SECOND ROUND OF U.S. - GREEK BASE  
NEGOTIATIONS, NEITHER OF WHICH SUGGESTS A SPEEDY OR TROUBLE-  
FREE NEGOTIATING SCENARIO. THE GREEK SIDE STILL REVEALS  
LITTLE OR NO FLEXIBILITY ON THE SUBJECT OF U.S. FACILITIES  
AT HELLENIKON (ATHENAI) AIR BASE AND SEEMS GENERALLY TO HAVE  
BEEN GIVEN MINIMUM AUTHORITY TO EXPLORE ALTERNATIVES TO  
THE POSITIONS ADVANCED BY THE GREEK SIDE IN THE FIRST  
ROUND OF TALKS. THE TENDENCY OF THE GREEK NEGOTIATORS  
IS, IN EFFECT, TO SAY, "WE HAVE DEFINED THE PROBLEMS

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CREATED BY U.S. FACILITIES IN GREECE; IT IS UP TO YOU TO

FIND THE SLUTIONS."

2. CONFRONTED WITH SO RESERVED AN ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE GREEK NEGOTIATORS, AT LEAST IN THIS EARLY PHASE OF THE SECOND ROUND, OUR BEST TACTIC IS TO HOLD BACK FOR THE TIME BEING CONCESSIONS WE ARE PREPARED TO MAKE OR TO CONSIDER. WE MUST PROBE THE GREEK POSITION FURTHER AND NEED ADDITIONAL TIME TO DO SO. OUR OPENING PRESENTATION WAS DESIGNED TO IMPLY FLEXIBILITY AND OPENNESS ON OUR SIDE OF THE TABLE WITHOUT SPELLING OUT IN DETAIL OUR POSITION ON KEY ISSUES SUCH AS HOMEPORTING AND U.S. FACILITIES AT HELLENIKON. IN ADDITION, RE RELATING INDIVIDUAL PROBLEM AREAS TO EACH OTHER AND PRESENTING THEM IN THE CONTEXT OF STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES SHARED BY GREECE AND THE U.S., WE SOUGHT TO EMPHASIZE THAT ALL U.S. FACILITIES IN GREECE HAVE A BEARING ON GREEK SECURITY AND NONE CAN BE ELIMINATED WITHOUT SOME UNFAVORABLE IMPACT ON THE OTHERS. WE HOPE THEREBY TO INCREASE THE VALUE OF HOMEPORTING AS A TRADE-OFF AGAINST CONTINUED U.S. OPERATIONS AT HELLENIKON.

3. SIMILARLY, OUR EFFORT TO BREAK THE PLENARY MEETINGS INTO WORKING SUBGROUPS, WHICH IN THEORY WILL BE ABLE TO EXPLORE OPERATING ALTERNATIVES WITHOUT FORMAL COMMITMENT OR OBLIGATION, IS INTENDED TO GIVE US SOMEWHAT MORE FLEXIBILITY THAN THE FORMAT OF THE PLENARY MEETINGS PERMITS. IN ADDITION, GREEK ACCEPTANCE OF A SUBGROUP ON HELLENIKON WOULD IMPLY WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER SOLUTIONS TO THIS PROBLEM SHORT OF ELIMINATING U.S. FACILITIES. THE GREEK SIDE IS CERTAINLY AWARE OF THESE IMPLICATIONS AND THIS PROBABLY EXPLAINS THEIR RELUCTANCE TO AGREE TO THE FORMATION OF A SUBGROUP ON HELLENIKON WITHOUT CHECKING WITH HIGHER AUTHORITY.

4. BETWEEN NOW AND THE NEXT PLENARY MEETING ON THURSDAY, APRIL 10, WE WILL ATTEMPT BEHIND THE SCENES TO CONVINCE THE GREEK SIDE, INCLUDING BOTH THE GREEK NEGOTIATORS AND OTHER KEY GREEK OFFICIALS, THAT IT IS IN GREEK INTERESTS TO BE FLEXIBLE ON HELLENIKON (WHICH REMAINS THE CRUNCH ISSUE) AND THAT FLEXIBILITY HERE ON THE PART OF THE GREEKS WILL BE RECIPROCATED BY CONCESSIONS IN OTHER AREAS

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BY THE U.S. SIDE.

5. ACCORDINGLY, WE HOPE THAT AMBASSADOR CALOGERAS ON THURSDAY WILL BE ABLE TO AGREE TO THE SUBGROUPS WE HAVE PROPOSED. IF HE DOES, WE WILL PROBE THE GREEK POSITION FURTHER, PARTICULARLY ON HELLENIKON, IN SUBGROUP MEETINGS ON FRIDAY AND SCHEDULE A FULL DRESS PRESENTATION FOR THE HELLENIZATION PROPOSALS RELATED TO HELLENIKON AS SOON THERE-

AFTER AS POSSIBLE. WE WILL CONTINUE TO HOLD BACK ANY  
EXPLICIT COMMITMENT TO TERMINATE HOMEPORTING UNTIL WE  
HAVE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE SUCH A DETAILED PRESENTATION  
ON HELLENIKON AND HAVE RECEIVED A CONSIDERED GREEK REACTION  
TO THIS LINE OR APPROACH.

6. IN THE SOFA SUBGROUP, TO THE FORMATION OF WHICH THE  
GREEK SIDE HAS AGREED AND WHICH WILL MEET TUESDAY AND  
PROBABLY ALSO WEDNESDAY, WE WILL FOLLOW A CONSERVATIVE  
COURSE, INDICATING WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE BUT SUGGESTING  
AT THE SAME TIME THAT THE EXTENT OF OUR ABILITY TO  
COMPROMISE WILL IN PART BE DETERMINED BY THE GREEK ATTITUDE  
ON OTHER ISSUES TO BE NEGOTIATED.  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MILITARY BASE AGREEMENTS, NEGOTIATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 07 APR 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975ATHENS02695  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750120-0424  
**From:** ATHENS  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750477/aaaacsbs.tel  
**Line Count:** 129  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** 75 ATHENS 2694  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 02 JUN 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <02 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <03 JUN 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** U.S. - GREEK BASE NEGOTIATIONS: COMMENTS ON OPENING OF SECOND ROUND  
**TAGS:** MARR, GR, US  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006